



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

JOURNAL

OF

BIBLICAL LITERATURE

Volume XXXIII

Part III

1914

The Inauguration of the Second Temple

PAUL HAUPT

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

IN my paper on the *Visions of Zechariah* (JBL 32, 109)¹ I stated that Zechariah concluded his first patriotic address with the assurance: *Zerubbabel's hands have laid the foundations of the Temple, his hands will also finish it*. This prediction was not fulfilled. The restoration of the Temple was begun about Sept. 1, 520,² but when the Second Temple was completed about April 1, 515,³ Zerubbabel was no longer governor of Judah. His followers had attempted to place him on the throne of David; but the Persian Government nipped this insurrection in the bud. The satrap of Babylonia and Syria, Vištâna, came to Jerusalem in the spring of 519; Zerubbabel was tried for high-treason and, it may be supposed, put to death. Zechariah's expectations (Feb. 13, 519)² that the Davidic prince would be acquitted were not realized (JBL 32, 114).

We know from the poem of Haggai, which is preserved in Zech. 7 1-3 + 8 18 19^a + 7 4-6 + 8 19^b, that on Dec. 7, 518² the governor in Jerusalem was no longer Zerubbabel, but Bethel-shar-ezer who sent a royal herald (lit. *crier*)³ to raise the question

¹ For the abbreviations see this JOURNAL (JBL) vol. 31, p. 115, n. 2.

² For these dates cf. JBL 32, 107, n. 1.

³ We must read *רָגַם מֶלֶךְ* (the prefixed *ו* is due to dittography of the *ר*; cf. AJSL 26, 10). The Vulgate has *Rogommelech*. For Assyr. *ragâmu*, to cry, from which *Targum* and *dragoman* are derived, see KAT² 517;

whether it would not be expedient to abolish the fast in the fifth month commemorating the burning of the Temple at the hands of the Chaldeans in 586 B.C. In Paris the statue of the City of Strassburg is still covered with wreaths of mourning; but if the Bishop of Strassburg had continued to observe the day of the surrender of the fortress (Sept. 28, 1870) as a day of mourning, the German governor of Alsace-Lorraine would probably have sent an official message suggesting that this demonstration cease.

Priestly editors have endeavored to eliminate all allusions to Zerubbabel's ill-starred coronation. This has been done in the text of Ezra 4-6. In the line *royal majesty will he assume* (Zech. 6 13) the word *royal* has been suppressed, also the hemistich *thy throne is for ever* in Ps. 110 4 (JBL 32, 113). In Zech. 6 9-15 as well as in Zech. 3 the name of the high-priest *Joshua* has been substituted for the name of the Davidic prince *Zerubbabel* (JBL 32, 114 and 118).

In Ps. 132, which was written for the encenia at the inauguration of the restoration of the Temple about Sept. 1, 520, the last line of the second stanza must have been originally
Extend his sceptre from Zion that he conquer in the midst of his foes!
This revolutionary appeal has been replaced by a tame variant of v. 16. The received text of Ps. 110 2

מַטֵּה עֹז יִשְׁלַח יְהוָה מִצִּיּוֹן רֹדֵף בְּקָרֵב אֹיְבָיו:

seems to be based on a combination of the original text of that line,

עֹז יִשְׁלַח מִצִּיּוֹן וְרֹדֵף בְּקָרֵב:

and the suppressed line in Ps. 132 10,

שִׁלַּח מַטֵּהוּ מִצִּיּוֹן וַיִּרְדֹּף בְּקָרֵב אֹיְבָיו:

Both Psalms may have been written by the same patriotic poet.⁴

Ps. 132 was referred to Zerubbabel by Gustav Baur in the

Kings 117, 30. Assy. *ragâmu* is not identical with Heb. רַעַם, although Assy. *raggu* may be the Heb. רַע (KB 6, 380; ZDMG 65, 565, l. 17). Assy. *ragâmu* is connected with Arab. رَجَسَ *râjasa*, to roar, thunder (رَجَد, هَدَر). Cf. my remarks on דְּהָרוּת, Jud. 5 22 in the Wellhausen *Festschrift*.

⁴ For Ps. 110 cf. Haupt, *Micah* (Chicago, 1910) nn. 45, 28, 10 on VIII (AJSL 27, Oct. 1910). In n. 10 on VIII 516 is a misprint for 519.

fifth edition of De Wette's commentary (1856) p. 594. This was done long ago by Bar Ebhrâyâ (1226-1286) and Theodore of Mopsuestia (360-428).⁵ Graetz (1883) expressed the same view. De Wette admitted that this psalm might have been sung at the inauguration of the Second Temple, but he maintained that it was originally composed for the dedication of the Solomonic Temple. Our Psalm is one of *The Songs of The Return* (שירי המעלות) which originated in the period of the Return from Babylonia (המעלה מבבל, Ezr. 7 9).⁶

The other poems of this collection are written in lines with 3+2 beats, but the lines of Psalm 132 have 3+3 beats (OLZ 12, 68, n. 7). This poem falls into two sections, each section is composed of two five-line stanzas. Franz Delitzsch thought that this psalm consisted of four ten-line stanzas (his *lines* are *hemistichs*).⁷ The first stanza was correctly given by De Wette, also Kamphausen's strophic arrangement in Bunsen's *Bibelwerk* (1868) was nearly correct. The best arrangement of the Hebrew text was given by Julius Ley in his *Grundzüge* (1875) p. 183.

There are no lacunæ in the poem, as Olshausen supposed; but a number of verses have been misplaced: vv. 6-8 must be inserted before vv. 13-18, and v. 11^b should be placed between vv. 17 and 18; v. 10 should follow vv. 11^a and 12. After v. 11^b had been placed before v. 12, the names *David* and *Judah* were replaced by pronouns of the second person. Verses 8, 9, 10^b, 1^a are quoted, with slight modifications, in 2 Chr. 6 41 42. Of course, v. 9 had been substituted for the suppressed line at the end of the second stanza long before the time of the Chronicler.

For the imperative זכור at the beginning of the poem we must substitute the future יזכר. The ז of זכור may be a corruption of the transposed initial י, unless it is merely due to dittography of

⁵ Cf. Baethgen, *Psalmen* (1892) p. 404; third edition (1904) p. 393; Sellin, *Serubbabel* (1898) p. 185, below. For Sellin's book cf. the second page of the comments on my translation of Is. 40 in Drugulin's *Marksteine* (1902).

⁶ See AJSL 2, 98; 11, 27; JBL 19, 67; 26, 44, l. 6; ZDMG 61, 289, l. 20; *Numbers* 49, 25; *Kings* 266, 45; ZAT 34, 145.

⁷ Delitzsch's statement is repeated in Emil Taube's *Praktische Auslegung der Psalmen* (Berlin, 1884).

the ר (AJSL 26, 10). The imperative instead of the future is due to זָכְרָה in 2 Chr. 6 42. If יהוה in v. 1 were vocative, we should expect לָךְ instead of לַיהוה in v. 2.

Instead of עֲנֹתוֹ we must read עֲנֹתוֹ. I pointed out in JBL 31, 120 (and 135) that we must read עֲנֹת instead of עֲנֹת in Ps. 22 25 and עֲנֹתֵנו in Ps. 90 8 15 instead of עֲנֹתֵנו and עֲנִיתָנו. The patriotic poet does not speak of David's affliction or humility (Ὁ τῆς πραύτητος αὐτοῦ = (עֲנֹתוֹ)⁸ but of the labors of Solomon in connection with the building of the First Temple. After עֲנֹת we must insert שְׁלֵמָה or בְּנוּ, not לְטוֹבָה (Neh. 5 19 13 31) or עֲבָדךָ (2 Chr. 6 42). The Davidic dynasty may count on JHWH's favor because it built the First Temple, and the Davidic scion Zerubbabel is displaying as much zeal in inaugurating the erection of the Second Temple, despite the hard times, as his great ancestor did in the palmy days of Judah. *For the sake of Thy servant David do not repulse Thine anointed* (v. 10) means, Fulfil the hopes of Zerubbabel and his followers, and place him on the throne of Judah, for he is a Davidic scion, and David and his successors have always been loyal to Thee.

Hero of Jacob (תְּקִיפָא דִיעֶקֶב) is the translation used by Cheyne in his translation of the Psalms in the Parchment Library (1884). The original meaning is *Bull of Jacob*, i. e. the national god of Israel, who was worshiped at Beth-el in the form of a bull.⁹ *Of Jacob* was originally an appositional genitive (JBL 29, 101, n. 45). After the Exile this ancient name was used as a poetic designation for JHWH, just as *Israel* (and *Joseph*, &c.) was used for *Judah*.⁹

Before v. 3 (lit. *If I enter my dwelling lodge*, &c.) we must supply the ancient oath, *The Lord do so unto me and more also* (GK²⁸, § 149, b; § 167, a; WdG 2, 172, D; AJSL 23, 236, n. 57) which was originally, it may be supposed, accompanied by two dramatic gestures indicating piercing of the heart and subsequent decapitation and gibbeting (2 S 4 7; 2 Macc. 15 35;

⁸ Perles, *Analekten*, p. 65, prefers the reading עֲנִיתָנו.

⁹ See Haupt, *Micah*, n. 17 on I (AJSL 27, 19). The *horns of the altar* seem to be a survival of this ancient Israelitish bull-worship (DB 1, 77^a; EB 134, 5). *Of* nn. 57 and 81 on my translation of the Song of Deborah in the Wellhausen *Festschrift*.

EB 1959, b; EB¹¹, 12, 917^b). In our days hanging is indicated by touching the neck.

For *lie down on my resting couch* the version in the Book of Common Prayer has *climb up into my bed*; the royal bedstead was so high that it was necessary to use bed-steps for ascending it; א has therefore **אֵין אֶסִּיק עַל דְּרָגִשׁ מַצְעִי**. I have shown (AJSL 26, 7) that **דְּרָגִשׁ**, *bed-steps* must be restored in Am. 3 12 instead of **דַּמְשָׁק**. The word **דָּגֵשׁ** (for **דְּרָגִשׁ**) *to step* is found also in Egyptian (ÄZ 50, 88). Egyptian bed-steps are figured in Riehm's *Bibl. Handwörterbuch*, vol. i (1893) p. 225 and in the *Calver Bibellesikon* (1912) p. 88.

V. 4 is quoted in the gloss Prov. 6 4 (BL 26, n.*).

For **עֲדָתִי וְ** we must read **עֲדָתִי וְ** (Jerome, *testificationem meam quam docuero eos*) or (following G **τὰ μαρτύριά μου**) **וְעֲדָתִי וְ**; the omission of the ו after the ד may be due to haplography (AJSL 26, 10). In Ps. 122 4, on the other hand, we find **עֲדוֹת לְיִשְׂרָאֵל** instead of **עֲדַת יִשְׂרָאֵל** (AJSL 2, 99). For **עֲדוֹת** see *Proverbs* 45, 49; OLZ 12, 66.

The relative pronoun **וְ** is indeclinable; cf. the dialectic **בְּ, e. g. bī'ri dū hafārtu**, the well which I dug (WdG 1, 272, C).

Before the second line of v. 12 we had better prefix the *Waw apodosis* (*Est.* 50, ad 14). Not only **דְּרִי** are often confounded, haplographed and dittographed, but also **ו, ג, and ז**, e. g. **מְרוֹז** (Jud. 5 23) and **מְרוֹם** (Josh. 11 5 7) are corruptions of **מְגִדוֹ (ן)**.

Verses 6 (which Kautzsch considered to be beyond translation) and 7 refer to the entire congregation of the faithful Jews assembled in Jerusalem when Zerubbabel laid the foundations of the Second Temple. They have come from the cultivated regions as well as from the uncultivated districts (G **ἐν ταῖς δασέσι τοῦ ὄρους**). But it is not necessary to suppose that the two lines were sung by the entire congregation. Paulus, *Clavis* (Heidelberg, 1815) p. 488 explained **שְׂדֵי יַעַר** as the *Berg- und Waldland von Judah*, ἡ ὄρεινή, Luke 1 39. Also De Wette remarked: *Vielleicht enthielt der Vers ursprünglich keine nomina propria; der Dichter wollte sagen: in Wald und Flur.*

Thy powerful ark (GK²⁸, § 135, n) is the shrine containing the Law (JED). א, correctly, **אֲרוֹן דִּי בֵּיה אֹרִיתָךְ**. The shrine

containing the Law (JED+P) in modern synagogues is still called ארון הקדש.¹⁰ According to Paulus' *Clavis heu* ארון is *der mächtige Gesetzshrank, wo die zehn Gebote, das Gesetz als Repräsentant des Nationalregenten Jehovah selbst, lagen*. Θ has ἡ κιβωτὸς τοῦ ἁγιάσματος σου for ארון עֵד; but we need not substitute ארון קדשך for ארון עֵד (JAOS 27, 122).¹¹ In Ps. 134 2 we find simply ארון [ה]קדש instead of ארון הקדש; worshipers in the modern synagogues still face the Ark during the principal prayer (EB¹¹ 26, 291^b, below). We need not prefix ארון to הקדש in Ps. 134 2, but we must append שמרים (*Purim*, 14, 40) to בלילות at the end of the preceding verse.

The horn is a symbol of strength, power, or triumph; cf. 1 S 2 1 (ZDMG 58, 621) and Luke 1 69. *I'll raise* (lit. *I'll cause to sprout*; cf. Dan. 7 8) *there a horn of David* means *I'll cause a vigorous scion of the House of David to arise there*.

The hemistich *Mine anointed* (i. e. *the Davidic dynasty*) *shall not be extinct* means literally, *I have set up a light for mine anointed* (David). Lamps seem to have been kept burning before the Teraphim (images of ancestors).¹² Cf. DB 3, 24^b, also Hupfeld and Duhm *ad loc.* The eternal lamps in the synagogues (נר תמיד) and Catholic churches may be a survival of this ancient usage (EB¹¹ 10, 400^b; 16, 675). In cuneiform texts we find *Bel may snatch away his descendants so that he may have no nâq mê* (HW 479^a; AL⁵ 171^b) i. e. *no one to pour out water for the dead*; cf. Delitzsch, *Das Land ohne Heimkehr* (1911) n. 28. The Babylonian curse *May he have no one to pour out water* means *May his family become extinct*, and the

¹⁰ Cf. GJV⁴ 2, 524; DB 4, 633; EB 4836; ארון היבה is now used for the lectern near ארון הקדש.

¹¹ Θ has τὸ ἁγίασμα μου also for נורו at the end of the Psalm; cf. B. Oppenheim, *Die syr. Übersetzung des fünften Buches der Psalmen* (Leipzig, 1891) p. 53.

¹² This word should be pointed תרפים (for *tarrâphim*). On the other hand, פרשים, *horses* is a mistake for פרשים (*Est.* 61, †). *Târâphim* means *Providers*; it is connected with טרף, *food* (originally *prey*; cf. AJSL 26, 11) just as *Penates* is derived from *penus*, provisions. The ט instead of ת (cf. ترفة, *turfê*) is due to the ר (cf. ZDMG 64, 706, l. 31). The identity of תרף and טרף was pointed out long ago by Fürst. There is no etymological connection between תרפים and רפאים.

Hebrew execration *May he have no one to keep the lamp burning*¹³ has the same meaning, whereas *I have set up a light for mine anointed* is equivalent to *I will not suffer the family of mine anointed to become extinct*.

The promise in v. 15, *Her poor I'll sate with bread*, was not superfluous when the foundations of the Second Temple were laid; the people were not living in affluence at that time.

The cohortative (אשביע instead of אשביע) improves the rhythm.

For צידה at the beginning of this line we must substitute ציון (cf. Nestle, ZAT 14, 320; HSAT³ 2, 236; GB¹⁵ 675^b).

Her priests I'll clothe with salvation means: When the people pray to יהוה: הושיעה־נא, the priests will make intercession so that the prayer of the people will be heard. The hemistich *Let Thy priests be clothed with right*, on the other hand, in the variant (v. 9) means: The priests will be endowed with righteousness so that they will be able to give correct answers to the questions of the people. V. 9 implies: The priests will be able to give the people correct decisions, and v. 16: The priests will be able to make the prayers of the people efficacious.

¹³ In 1 K 11³⁶ we must read לפני instead of לפני, and 1 K 15⁴ must be translated according to *Numbers* 53, n. a.

The whole poem may be translated as follows:

Psalm 132.

- A i 1^a יהוה will credit to David
all the zeal displayed by his son
2 Who solemnly promised to יהוה,
and vowed to the Hero of Jacob:
3 "I'll not enter my dwelling lodge,
lie down on my resting couch,
4 I'll not grant sleep to mine eyes,
or slumber to my lashes,
5 Till I find a place for יהוה,
an abode for the Hero of Jacob."

The Hebrew text should be read as follows:

את־כָּל יַעֲזֹזֶת: בְּזֹז:	אֲזַכֵּר יְהוָה לְדוֹד ^a 1 i A
נָדַר לֵאבִיר יַעֲקֹב:	אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּע לַיהוָה 2
אִם־אֵעֲלֶה עַל־עֶרְשׁ יִצְוִעִי:	אִם־אֶבֶא בְּאֶהַל בֵּיתִי 3
לַעֲפַעֲפִי תִנּוּמָה:	אִם־אֶתֵּן שִׁנָּה לַעֲיִנִי 4
מִשְׁכְּנוֹת לֵאבִיר יַעֲקֹב:	עַד־אֲמַצֵּא מָקוֹם לַיהוָה 5
אִמֵּת לֹא־יִשׁוּב מִמֶּנָּה:	נִשְׁבַּע יְהוָה לְדוֹד 11 ^a ii
וְעַד־תִּי זִי־אֶלְמָדֶם	אִם־יִשְׁמְרוּ בְּנִיךְ בְּרִיתִי 12
יִשְׁבּוּ עַל־כֶּסֶּא לָךְ:	וְגַם בְּנֵיהֶם עַד־יָעֵד 10
אֶל־תִּשָּׁב פָּנֶי מִשִּׁיחֶךָ	בַּעֲבוּר דָּוִד עַבְדְּךָ
וְיִרְדֶּךָ בְּקֶרֶב אֲיֵכָיו:	שְׁלַח מִסָּהוּ מִצִּיּוֹן
מִצְאֲנוּךָ בִּשְׂדֵי הָעֵר:	הִנֵּה שְׁמִעֲנוּךָ בְּאַפְרָתָה 6 iii B
נִשְׁתַּחֲוִיתָ לַהֲדֹם רַגְלָיו:	נִבְוָאָה לְמִשְׁכְּנוֹתָיו 7
אֶתָּה וְאֶרְוֶן עֲזֹךְ:	קוֹמָה ^β לְמִנּוּחֶיךָ 8
אָוָה לְמוֹשֵׁב לוֹ:	כִּי־בָחַר יְהוָה בְּצִיּוֹן 13
פֹּה־אֲשַׁב כִּי־אֹיֵתֶיךָ:	זֹאת־מִנּוּחֹתַי עַד־יָעֵד 14
אֲבִיוֹנִיָּה אֲשַׁבֵּיעֲהָ לֶחֶם:	צִיּוֹן בְּרֶךְ אֲבִרָךְ 15 iv
וְחִסְדִּיהָ רָגַן יִרְגְּנוּ ^γ :	כִּתְּנֶיהָ אֲלִבִּישֶׁהָ וְשַׁע 16
עֲרַכְתִּי נֹר לְמִשְׁחִי:	שִׁם־אֲצַמִּיחֶהָ קֶרֶן לְדוֹד 17
אִשִּׁית עַל־כֶּסֶּא יְהוּדָה:	מִפְּרִי בֶטֶן דָּוִד 11 ^b
וְעָלִיו יִצִּיץ נוֹרוֹ:	אֲוִיבִיו אֲלִבִּישֶׁהָ בִּשְׁת 18

8 (β) יהוה

1 (α) שיר המעלות

9 (γ) כהניך ולבשו צדק וחסידיך רגנן ירגנו :